

China the Gathering Threat

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Good Afternoon Chairman Rohrabacher and Members of the Committee

It is an honor and a privilege to be here today to discuss with you my late husband's book on China. My husband, Constantine Menges wrote China, The Gathering Threat prior to his death in July, 2004. I know that some of you here today knew Constantine, worked with him on international issues and shared many of the same concerns. For those of you who did not know Constantine, I would like to say a few words. Constantine was a man of extraordinary intellect who possessed a deep knowledge of many regions of the world. He used these attributes to analyze and assess the nature of regimes and their potential to threaten the national security of the United States. For example, he did everything he could to prevent the fall of the Shah and the rise of the mullahs in Iran as well as the coming to power of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. Constantine believed that China is our next biggest national security challenge and that china, alone, is the one country that could threaten our way of life, our standard of living and our freedom. He was hopeful that his book would provide the basis for our government to develop more realistic policies towards China as well as an overall strategy. Since no one could speak more eloquently about his ideas than the author himself, the following testimony is excerpted directly from the text of his book.

China is a country that has experienced enormous economic growth over the course of the last twenty years. Since the 1990's, as a result of its mostly one way access to the markets of the U.S. and other major countries, China has benefited from more than a trillion dollars of economic benefits, foreign direct investment, and foreign economic assistance. Taken together, these economic benefits have meant an enormous increase in the resources available to the Communist regime for its domestic and international purposes. The Chinese Government's purposes and strategy has four operational dimensions. The first is to establish a mood of friendly relations with neighboring states while making no concessions on existing disputes; secondly, to intensify military cooperation with states hostile to the U.S; thirdly to establish relations with a large number of developing countries in the hope of taking a leadership role among them in the United Nations, the WTO and other international forums; and fourth to prepare the conditions for future strategic denial by obtaining control over major sea lanes and having a monopoly of some key high technology inputs required by all advanced industrial countries. ``.

As described in chapter 18 of the book, China has a very definite strategy which it is now pursuing. Their strategy is to become dominant first in Asia and eventually in the entire world. The Communist regime in China believes that it must either dominate the world or be dominated by the United States and its allies. As conceptualized by the author, China's pursuit of dominance will occur in eight phases and may overlap or continue in parallel. The timing of each new phase will depend, in part on decisions made by the Chinese regime as it resolves differences about strategy and tactics. There are four reasons why the Chinese leadership believes it must follow this path. First and foremost is to preserve the power of the Communist Party in China.

The mere existence of a democratic, prosperous, and powerful United States is seen as an intrinsic threat to the existence of the Communist regime. The same is true of democratic Taiwan and Japan which show clearly that the peoples of Asia can establish democratic self-government. A major reason that the Chinese Communist regime wants to take control over Taiwan is to end the idea that there can be another democratic alternative for the people of China.

The second reason China is seeking dominance is their concern regarding the military power of the United States which they see as limiting their ability to take control of Taiwan and attain its territorial aims in Asia. In addition Chinese military writings indicate a deep concern about the potential military capacity of Japan which their analysts believe could produce and deploy one or two thousand nuclear warheads in a matter of months. The Chinese regime sees the U.S.-Japan alliance as an obstacle to its international objectives and will seek the neutralization of Japan as one of their major objectives in the coming years.

The third reason why China seeks dominance is to ensure its continued economic modernization and growth. The Chinese government wants to make sure that it will not be denied access to economic, technological, and mineral resources necessary for its future success. Oil imports are an example of China's inevitably growing dependence on resources from abroad. As China's economy continues to grow and expand, it will require greater quantities of oil, putting it in direct competition with other major oil importing countries such as Europe, the U.S. and Japan. Obtaining these imports means that China must have both the money to pay for them and access to them.

China has proclaimed ever more clearly and frequently since the mid 1990's that it seeks a "new international, political and economic world order". What this means exactly is unclear but is in keeping with the centuries long tradition of China as the center of a world in which all other states either pay tribute and accept the dominance of the Chinese regime or are viewed as hostile. However China often speaks of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and professes that this new world order would be for the benefit of all reasonable countries. This is cast to be especially appealing to developing countries, which are a majority in the United Nations and World Trade Organization. China's methods of wooing these countries while deepening their economic dependence on China has been very effective. More importantly, China has accomplished the feat of linking Communist rule with many of the economic institutions of the industrial democracies. As a result, this linkage has led to the creation of vested interests within the democratic countries by large and powerful business organizations that lobby for the continuation of good relations with China and interpret all Chinese purposes and actions internationally as benign. This has already had a profound effect on the policies of the United States toward China and, in the view of the Chinese regime, will continue to help China accomplish its purposes in the years ahead.

There is a bi-partisan consensus among many that the goal of US policy in China should be to maintain normal relations with this important country while encouraging its peaceful evolution into a political democracy that will respect the human rights of its citizens and be peaceful internationally. There has also been a bi-partisan assumption that

continuing the pattern of unconditional economic and commercial relations which since 1980 have been highly advantageous to China will lead to political democracy. This assumption has been proven false by the history of the last two centuries where economic modernization has at times increased the power of authoritarian states and fueled their expansionistic impulses i.e. imperial Germany and imperial Japan. This is also true in post Mao China where the regime has kept its dictatorship intact while the economy and certain aspects of society have changed dramatically.

To place this in perspective I would like to quote from Deng Xi Ping the first post Mao leader of China and the father of the Chinese economic strategy – He said, “We will bide our time and hide our capabilities.” How these capabilities will emerge is illustrated in the eight stages contained in my husband’s book and which I have provided summaries of as part of my written testimony for the benefit of the members.

It should be understood that China is engaged in a political war against the United States. China is positioning itself strategically in all regions of the world including in our hemisphere. They work to strengthen régimes unfriendly to the United States such as Castro’s Cuba and Chavez in Venezuela. They are well positioned at most of the ports where the majority of the world’s commerce passes including their control of both ends of the Panama Canal. In addition the Chinese governments is one of the world major proliferators of ballistic missile and weapons of mass destruction technology and are engaged in massive espionage efforts to acquire our military, including nuclear, secrets and technology as well as our intellectual property.

My husband’s book connects all the dots, sounds the warning and provides credible policy proposals. In this regard the author lays out a strategy for democratization in China and identifies four major groups that will be most important in the process of political liberalization in China. These include the hundreds of millions of Chinese citizens who want fair, legal and effective government: elements favoring political reform within the Communist Party: pro-Democratic citizens within China: and pro-democracy Chinese living in exile in the US and other democratic countries.

The essence of a peaceful pro-democracy strategy involves giving the people and natural leaders in each of the four groups in China the information and encouragement that will lead them to take practical steps to bring the Party first towards greater observance of its own laws, constitution, and existing international human rights commitments; then to make changes in the direction of political liberalization. This requires the establishment of an organization to plan coordinate, and implement these activities, which might be named the Program for Democracy in China (PDC).

This book is part of my husband’s legacy and is based on his forty years of experience in foreign policy national security affairs. My only regret is that he is not here himself to express his ideas.

The following is a brief description of the eight-stage framework for a grand strategy China is pursuing in their efforts to achieve global dominance without actual war. It should be noted that these estimates are based on the author's judgment after spending in excess of thirty years working on these issues.

China's Eight Stages Toward Global Domination

There is no way to provide a proper and yet brief description of the intricacies of the eight-stage framework for a grand strategy, as described in chapter 18, that Dr. Menges saw China pursuing in their efforts to achieve global dominance without actual war. It is hoped that this outline provides enough details to encourage the reader to examine the contents of the book. As with all future analyses, the dates are more of a signpost than an actual prediction, and the events may occur in a different sequence than outlined here. It should be noted that these estimates are based on the author's judgment after spending in excess of thirty years working on these issues.

Normalization with the industrial democracies (1978–Present)

This is a time in which the Chinese are seeking to establish political and economic relations with western countries in an effort to further their own development in economic and military terms.

Asian Regional Persuasion /Coercion (1980s–Present)

As China began to emerge from its previous isolation and to look outward, it also sought to extend its influence and power. Part of this effort is a continuing effort to assert claims of sovereignty. This is a time of economic and military coercion in an effort to establish a position of strength regionally while extending its reach globally.

Asian Preponderance: Taking Control of Taiwan (2005–2008?)

China working to isolate Taiwan internationally while strengthening their regional position to a point where they are equal, in terms of regional power, to Japan and the US. During this time, China will seek to use a coercive mix of military threats and the promise of economic benefits to force Taiwan to accept the terms dictated by Beijing.

Asian Dominance: The End of the U.S. Alliance with Japan (2008–2012)

Using the removal of Taiwan from the calculation, China will seek to neutralize the Korean peninsula. This can only be accomplished by ending the US-South Korean military alliance while using their own influence to secure stability between South Korea and North Korea and a normalization of relations under the guidance and guarantee of the Chinese. With the removal of these two potential flash points, the Chinese will increase their efforts to end the US-Japanese alliance on terms that maintain the relative pacifist nature of the Japanese Self-Defense forces. This will then precipitate the complete and final withdrawal of US forces from all bases not located on US territory in Northeast Asia.

The De Facto End of NATO: The Neutralization of Western Europe (2010–2014)

Within Europe, the Chinese, together with the Russians, will begin to point to the ending of the 'Cold War era' security structures within Asia in order to argue for the final dismantlement of the NATO alliance. This combined with increased economic dependency by Europe, potentially in combination with those in Western- Europe who are seeking to establish a new security framework within the EU without US involvement could lead to the effective neutralization of Europe. This would likely be accompanied by a Chinese shift away from the dollar and towards to the Euro as an additional means of pressure. In addition, China will seek to encourage an international effort aimed at the limitation of US and Russian nuclear arsenals to a few hundred in the "interests of world peace." The Russian portion of this agreement is meant to reduce the concerns of a potentially resurgent Russia in order to aid in the effective ending of the US-European Security relationship. After all, by this time China would only have a few hundred declared strategic weapons.

China Obtains the Russian Far East, China Is Dominant Over Russia (2014–2020)

With added economic and technological strength, in particular from the growing relations with the Japanese and Europeans, the Chinese make an offer to the Russian government that they cannot refuse. In effect, the Chinese will buy the Russian Far-East. The deal will have the added benefits of both bribing Russian officials and making a covert threat of an invasion of the region if the deal is not accepted. There would be a second covert agreement in which the Chinese would offer to purchase the remaining Russian strategic nuclear weapons, as well as any chemical and biological weapons within the region.

The United States is Geopolitically Isolated; China is Preponderant in the World (2020–2023)

At this point, the Chinese will inform the United States of the new strategic reality of the Chinese Russian agreement. Without allies or forward bases, and in a weaker strategic position, the United States will be left with no choices for responding other than to accept the new strategic alignment, especially considering the stated and unstated threats including the potential use of nuclear weapons against the US homeland.

China is Dominant in the World (2025–?)

In the final stages, the Chinese by using a mix of its economic and military power will seek to legitimize their position through a series of UN Security Council resolutions that will include the disarmament and neutralization of any potential rivals, including the United States, and provide the ability for the Chinese to enforce the resolutions at their discretion.